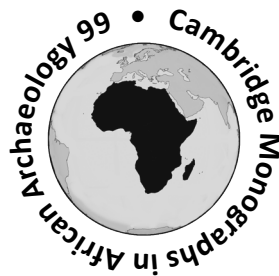


Living with Heritage

The Case of Tsodilo World Heritage Site and Neighbouring Localities

Stella Basinyi



Access Archaeology





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I dedicate this work to my parents; Tebatso and Rosinah Basinyi and my grandparents; Galefele and Gabofole Masire, Basinyi and Mosepele Moseki.

Contents

List of Figures.....	vi
Acknowledgements	viii
Acronyms	x
Foreign Words.....	xi
Foreign Words in This Dissertation	xi
Writing systems for names and words with click sound used in the study and Bantu system orthography	xii
Chapter 1 Introduction and Conceptualisation.....	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Presentation of the Study.....	1
1.1.1 Main Objective	3
1.2 Structure of Study and Chapter Outline	3
1.3 Contextualisation.....	5
1.3.1 Heritage	5
1.3.2 Intangible Cultural Heritage	7
1.3.3 Culture	7
1.3.4 Community	7
1.3.5 The Role of Local and Host Community and Knowledge in the Research	8
1.3.6 History of heritage studies.....	9
1.3.7 Critical Heritage Approach (CHA)	10
1.3.8 Heritage Management in Southern Africa	11
1.3.9 Research Justification.....	11
Chapter 2 Approaching Inhabited Heritage Spaces: Grounded Theory and Community Heritage Research.....	13
2.0 Introduction.....	13
2.1 Research Question and Selection of the Topic	13
2.1.1 Qualitative Research Framework	13
2.2 Grounded Theory (GT)	14
2.2.1 Strategy for Enquiry	14
2.2.2 Origins of GT.....	14
2.2.3 Nature of GT Research	15
2.2.4 Relevance of the GT Methodology in the Research Study	15
2.2.5 Versions of GT	16
Glaserian GT.....	16
Strauss and Corbin.....	16
Charmaz’s Constructivists Grounded Theory (CGT)	17
2.2.6 Essentials of Grounded Theory Methodology	17
Coding and Categorization of Data	17
Theoretical Coding or Focused Coding.....	17
Concurrent Data Generation and Analysis	17
Writing Memos	18
Theoretical Sampling	18
Constant Comparative Analysis.....	18

Theoretical Sensitivity	18
Reflexivity	18
Philosophical Leaning of the Research.....	19
2.3 GT Procedure and Essential in the Research Process	19
2.3.1 Literature Reviewing and GT.....	19
2.3.2 Delay of Literature	21
2.3.3 Steps Taken To Gain Entry into the Field and Ethical Consideration	21
2.3.4 Researcher’s Position.....	22
2.3.5 Choice of Fieldwork Area	23
2.3.6 Research Participants	23
2.3.7 Entering the Field.....	24
2.3.8 Research Team and Language	24
2.3.9 Settling in the Tsodilo Community Residence	26
2.3.10 Population Dynamics in Tsodilo and Theoretical Sampling	26
2.3.11 Rapport Building and Gatekeepers.....	27
2.3.12 Field Research Stages.....	28
2.3.13 First Stage Fieldwork Methods and Practice	28
2.3.14 Research Break	28
2.3.15 Second Stage Field Work	29
2.4 Data Collection Procedure.....	29
2.4.1 Data Collection Methods	30
2.4.2 Multi-Sited Approaches.....	31
2.4.3 Interviews	31
2.4.4 Event Observation	32
2.4.5 Participant Observation	33
2.4.6 Data Recording	34
Photovoice	34
2.4.7 Theoretical Sampling	34
2.4.8 Research Participants	35
2.4.9 Limitations of Research.....	35
2.5 Data Analysis.....	37
2.5.1 Interpretation, Translation and Transcription of Data	37
2.5.2 Coding and Constant Comparative Analysis	38
2.5.3 Open or Initial Coding Data	38
2.5.4 Focused Coding.....	40
2.5.5 Memoing	40
2.5.6 Theoretical Coding.....	40
2.5.7 Point Of Saturation	41
2.5.8 Reflexivity.....	42
2.5.9 Summary of the Analysis Procedure	42

Research Findings

Chapter 3 Relevance and Competition for Recognition and Entitlement of Communities in Inhabited Heritage Areas.....	45
3.0 Background Overview of the Landscape	45
3.1 Overview of the Landscape and the Local People	45
3.1.1 Overview of the Tsodilo World Heritage Site and the Inscription of Tsodilo on World Heritage List (WHL), the Narrative for the Official Management of the Site	46

3.2 Introduction.....	47
3.2.1 Deconstructing Community	51
3.2.2 Kinship Relations and Obligations in the Wider Tsodilo Areas	54
3.2.3 The Officially Recognized Community	54
3.2.4 The Neighbouring Community	55
3.3 Culture and Heritage	55
3.3.1 Defining Culture	56
Culture as an Identifier of Difference	56
3.3.2 Defining Heritage	57
Authorship, Craftsmanship and Ownership	58
Perception of Heritage as Linked with the Museum Authority	60
The Nature of Heritage Management and Relevance from the Point Of View of Global Approach and Institutions.....	62
Fences and Authority	62
The Dynamics and Use of the Kgotla	63
Sources of Income and Competition for the Market.....	63
3.4 Establishing Relevance	65
3.4.1 Divide and Manage	65
3.4.2 Relevance and Competing For Recognition and Entitlement	66
3.4.3 Access to the Site	67
3.4.4 Relevance, Proximity and Responsibility.....	68
3.4.5 Proximity and the Exclusion of the Herero	69
3.4.6 Descendants of the First People and Indigenusness Validating Rights to Heritage Resources	69
3.4.7 Recent Arrivals and Lack of Knowledge of Site and Authorship	70
3.4.8 The Exclusion and Grouping Dynamics	71
3.4.9 Crafts and Ethnic Boundaries	71
3.4.10 Mobility, Authority and Restriction.....	72
3.4.11 Development and Heritage	72
3.4.12 Relevance of the Host Community	73
3.5 Summary of the Chapter	73
3.6 Conclusion	75
Chapter 4 Heritage Community Value Dimensions and Impact on Host Communities	76
4.0 Introduction	76
4.1 Identifying Values and Cultural Significance	78
4.1.1 The Value of ‘Tsodilo’	79
4.1.2 Valorisation and (De) Valorisation of Heritage	79
4.2 Value Based Contexts	80
4.2.1 Value Categories Emerging From the Tsodilo Context	81
4.2.2. Global Approach and Institutions (Category) and Tourism-Based Context	81
4.2.3 The Main Objective of the Official Management	82
4.2.4. The Language and Interpretation of Heritage Values.....	82
4.2.5 The Value and Bottom-up Approach	83
4.2.6 The Role and Responsibility of the Host Community	84
4.2.7 Appreciation of the Values of the Site	86
4.2.8 Heritage Values as Something to Be Taught to Communities	87
4.3 Replacement of Traditional Authority by Formal Positions.....	88
4.4 Spiritual and Beliefs Systems Context	89
4.4.1 The Spiritual Attribute Of the Site and the Rock Art Paintings with the Work of God	89

4.4.2 Traditional Curator with the Ability to Communicate With the Spirit of the Hills	91
4.5 Conflicting Values	93
4.5.1 Religious Diversity and Tolerance between Faith-Based Groups	94
4.5.2 Developments and Cultural Values	96
4.6 Conclusion	98
Chapter 5 Heritage Community Interactions: Hosts and Visitors.....	100
5.0 Introduction	100
5.1 Contact and Interactions	100
5.1.1 Contact with the Supernatural and the Development	100
5.1.2 Interactions with the Faith-Based Community	102
5.2 The Diversity of Visitors	103
5.2.1 Interactivity with the Visitors and Acquaintances.....	103
5.3 Nature of Interactions.....	103
5.2.2 Interaction within the Host Communities	103
Competition for Entitlements.....	104
Effortless Interaction among Locals	105
Dependency Reciprocity and Sharing	107
Conflict for Limited Resources and Maintaining Control	107
5.2.3 Interactions with the Outsider.....	108
Language and Cultural Knowledge during Participation and Projects	108
Language and Exclusion	109
The Kgotla System and Dialogue with the Local Communities	110
Kinship and Commoditization of Culture and Imbrications of Science	110
Language and Interpretation of Rock Art	111
5.3.4 Interacting With the Tourist	112
The Negative Interaction Outcome	113
Feeling of Anger or Resentment	114
Arm’s Length Contact and Relationships in Resident Area	114
5.3.5 Non-Governmental Organization and Fostering Shared Prosperity of Rural Communities	116
The Host Community and Culture of Sharing Resources	117
5.3.6 The Establishment of Borders and Boundaries of Interactions as a Response to the Heritage- Making Process	118
Conceptual Community Borders	118
Crafts, Gender and Ethnic Border Relations	118
Crafts for Selling To Tourist and Gender Roles	119
Photos of the Host Community.....	119
5.4 Conclusion.....	120
Chapter 6 Discussion and Concluding Remarks	121
6.0 Introduction	121
6.1 Revisiting the Research Question.....	121
6.2 Concepts Employed in the Study.....	123
6.2.1 The Concept of Relevance	123
6.2.2 Imbrications of Science and One-Way Information Flow.....	125
6.2.3 The Grouping and Exclusions.....	126
6.2.4 Diversity	127
6.2.5 Reflexivity, Archaeology and Heritage Management	127
Reflexivity and Understanding Spiritual Values	128
6.3 Heritage Management and Conservation	128

6.3.1 Bottom-Up and grassroots Approach	129
6.3.2 Conservation vs. Commoditization of Heritage Site.....	129
6.3.3 Reciprocity and Entitlement	129
6.3.4 Knowledge Sharing	130
6.4 Establishing Borders	130
6.4.1 Kinship Obligation and Alliances	130
6.5 Heritage Studies	131
6.5.1 Culture in the Heritage Site	131
6.5.2 Cultural Shrinking Spaces	131
6.5.3 The Heritage Management Plan of Tsodilo Hills	131
6.6 Conclusion	133
6.7 Recommendations of the Study	135
References	137
Appendices	147
Appendix 1	147
Appendix 2	147
Interview guide	147
Appendix 3	149
Appendix 4	154
Appendix 5	156
Appendix 6	157
Appendix 7	158
Research Findings	44
Appendix 8	160
Example Interview analysis	160

List of Figures

Figure 1 Map of Botswana showing the location of Tsodilo World Heritage (WHS) Site	2
Figure 2 Perception of Authorship of the Rock Paintings	58
Figure 3 Income in BWP (Botswana Pula) From Crafts Sales (Aug-Sep 2013) Tourism Development Plan	64
Figure 4. The Relationship between Heritage Management and Community Relevance Markers	74
Figure 5 Contexts in Which the Host Interacts With the Visitors and the Core of Heritage Management Strategies.....	81
Figure 6 Weld fire approaching the Tsodilo Village in the winter of 2014. Picture by S. Basinyi (2014).....	84
Figure 7 The Abandoned Church Structure at the Mosheshe Old settlement. Picture by S. Basinyi (2015)	94
Figure 8 Onsite access road passes through old Ju/hoansi settlement. Picture by S. Basinyi (2015)	97
Figure 9 Fading Rock Art Panel in Tsodilo hills Picture by S. Basinyi (2016).....	97
Figure 10 Factors Influencing the Nature of Heritage Management and Recognition of the Local Community.....	99
Figure 11 summarizes the emergent categories of factors that contribute and constitute the nature of contact between the stakeholders on site and in community spaces. These are discussed in detail in the chapter.	104
Figure 12 Film viewing at the J/hoansi Residence Photo by S. Basinyi (2016).....	111
Figure 13 Number of Registered Visitors (June - October 2013) Source; Tsodilo Tourism Development Plan (2013)	112
Figure 14 Ju/hoansi Evening around Fire Dance Performance and Filmmaking Photo by S. Basinyi (2015).....	115
Figure 15 Factors Influencing Interaction and Heritage Management in Tsodilo WHS.....	122

List of Tables

Table 1 Summary of Interview Data Sources	32
Table 2 Range Of Participants Selected For Study	36
Table 3 Translated Text and Codes (Coding).....	39
Table 4 Emerging Patterns of the Data	41
Table 5 Emerging Concepts and Example of Tentative Categories from Focused Coding Process	48
Table 6 Theoretical Coding of the Established Borders	49
Table 7 Codes Supporting the Responsibility of the Host community	68
Table 8 Values Related Codes Supporting the Global Approaches in Tsodilo Heritage Management	82
Table 9 Codes Supporting Spirituality and Kinship Values	88
Table 10 codes supporting conflicting value category.....	93
Table 11 Codes Supporting Manner of Interaction between Host and Visitor	101
Table 12 Codes Supporting the Effortless Interactions.....	105
Table 13 Negative Outcome of the Interaction with the Visitor	113
Table 14 Profile of the research team	147
Table 15 Example of Focused codes and interview excerpts	149
Table 16 Example of the coding process.....	154
Table 17 Example of Focused codes.....	156
Table 18 Example of codes on Community and visitor interactions	157
Table 19 Participant outline	158

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Acronyms

AHD	Authorized Heritage Discourse
AHM	Archaeological Heritage Management
CHM	Cultural Heritage Management
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
CRM	Cultural Resources Management
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
WHC	World Heritage Convention
AWHF	African World Heritage Fund
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BWP	Botswana Pula (currency)
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CHA	Controlled Hunting Area
CKGR	Central Kalahari Game Reserve
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
KFO	Kuru Family of Organizations
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
BNMM	Botswana National Museum and Monuments
ODMP	Okavango Delta Management Plan
RAD	Remote Area Dweller
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TCDT	Tsodilo Community Development Trust
TMA	Tsodilo Management Authority
TOCaDI	Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiatives
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VDC	Village Development Committee
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa
WMA	Wildlife Management Area
ZCC	Zion Christian Church
WHL	World Heritage List

Foreign Words

Bushmen or San or Basarwa are names commonly used to refer to the hunter-gatherer community and their descendants in Southern Africa. For the purpose of this study, I use Ju/hoansi or Basarwa to refer to the San group of people living in the Tsodilo proximity as they refer to themselves. It was rare that the participants referred to themselves as San, they did so only when speaking in English or when (as was the case with the Basarwa field assistant) translating into the English language. !Kung is used to refer to the language they speak.

This dissertation incorporates transcriptions and translations of words from different language: Setswana, !Kung, Sembukushu and Seherero into the English language. The participants also use the term Sesarwa to refer to the San language spoken in Tsodilo.

Foreign Words in This Dissertation

<i>Baeng</i> (Setswana)	= Visitors
<i>Bajanala</i> (Setswana)	= Tourist
<i>Bojanala</i> (Setswana)	=Tourism
<i>Badumedi</i> (Setswana)	= Spiritualists and Traditionalists
<i>Bogologolo</i> (Setswana)	= History/Past
<i>Boswa</i> (Setswana)	= Inheritance
<i>Ditso</i> (Setswana)	= Tradition
<i>Ngwao</i> (Setswana)	= Culture
<i>Kgosi</i> (Setswana)	= Chief
<i>Kgotla</i> (Setswana)	= Public Meeting Place/Public Meeting
<i>Mafisa</i> (Setswana)	= Cattle lent out by the Wealthy to the poor
<i>Matlotlo</i> (Setswana)	= Tangible Heritage
<i>Moraka</i> (Setswana)	= Cattle Camps or Posts
<i>Moropa</i> (Setswana)	= Large Musical Drum
<i>Merafe (Pl) /Morafe (Sl)</i> (Setswana)	= Ethnicity / Ethnic Group
<i>Nxoresi/ Nxore</i> (!Kung)	= Hereditary Foraging and Ancestral Territory
<i>Ngwao-Boswa</i> (Setswana)	= Cultural Heritage
<i>Pula</i> (Setswana)	= Botswana's National Currency; also refers to rain
<i>Pina Ya Sesarwa</i> (Setswana)	= San Traditional Song and Dance
<i>Pina Ya Sembukushu</i> (Setswana)	= Hambukushu Traditional Song and Dance
<i>Ditsa Tholego</i> (Setswana)	= Natural Heritage
<i>Motse</i> (Setswana)	= Village, a Home or a Homestead
<i>Kqaolo</i> (Setswana)	= District/Area

Writing systems for names and words with click sound used in the study and Bantu system orthography

Phonetic	Bantu System	Khoisan System Or Ju/Hoansi System
Dental Click	/	c
Alveolar Click	≠	(tc) can be used
Lateral Click	//	x
Palatal Click	!	q

(Barnard 2007: 9)

Chapter 1

Introduction and Conceptualisation

1.0 Introduction

This opening chapter of the study is divided into three parts. The first part introduces the study by presenting the primary research concern, motivations that led to the research proposal and the research questions. The second part of the chapter presents the outline of each chapter of the study. The third part is the contextualization of the study.

1.1 Presentation of the Study

This Study contextualizes the research both in the author's academic course as well as in processes of social and cultural transformation going on in Botswana, and more generally in Southern Africa. The motivation for commencing this study began as the reflection of a scientist and a traditionally raised individual. I previously worked in the research context of archaeological research amongst the traditional communities settled in the areas with archaeological and cultural heritage sites. The main issue was that, before my education as an archaeologist, I held a specific traditional perspective imparted within my traditionalist parental family. My belief was that hill sites are sacred and protected by a Spirit¹ that is powerful and active in the sacred area. The sites are protected by people's fear of the power of the ancestral Spirits on the hill sites. These views transformed as I became a scientific convert interested mainly in the material culture and in search for the truth. Apart from the change of how I initially approached sacred sites, my interest in the heritage context was sparked by the meticulous handling of scientific research methods and the local perceptions which were silent on the transformation of the local voices. The voices that adapt to the scientific data during research, participation in modern management and heritage tourism amongst traditional societies. Although the popularity and economic benefit of local rural communities in this venture cannot be ignored among the Batswana, many scholars have completely ignored its impact on the traditional values and cultures of the local communities. Various factors account for this ignorance or neglect, factors such as intrusive scientific methods that cut deep into the soul of the local belief system and bring to light new and distant knowledge from the point of view of the traditional local communities, conflict of interests and values, dialogue between outsiders and insiders dominated by the outsiders, heritage narratives, global agendas and their insatiable appetite for bigger and better things feeding on the so-called insignificant and lesser things.

I grew up in a traditional Tswana village in the central eastern part of Botswana, the Tswapong region. The area is made up of two series of hills stretching to over 100km each. The foot of the hills is settled villages of the Batswapong ethnic group. The Batswapong initially settled on the foot of the Tswapong hills as a military strategy during the time of unrest in southern Africa in the 1800s.

My paternal family is traditionalist. My grandfather was a firm believer in the power of the ancestral Spirits that settled in the hills bordering our villages. He carried out traditional rituals on behalf of the family whenever there were ailments within the family. Some rituals were performed annually to appease our ancestors. Growing up in this context, nurturing my Christian faith was sometimes conflicted, particularly when the elder and head of the family was a traditionalist at heart. His belief system led the family, he imparted these beliefs to family members while several members

¹ As a sign of reverence I write names such as God, Spirit, *Modimo*, *Badimo*, with Capital letters



Figure 1 Map of Botswana showing the location of Tsodilo World Heritage Site (WHS)

later rejected them, opting to follow different paths.

In light of these beliefs, I remember my experience during my first intensive archaeological research and excavation at the Bosutswe hills in 2008. The Bosutswe hills, like the Tswapong and Tsodilo hills, are places that local people believe are settled by ancestral Spirits and Gods. The excavations took place on the hilltop of the Bosutswe hill. On the peripheries are local settlements inhabited by Bangwato and San people who believe in the sacredness and Spirituality of the hill site based on the material remains found on the hilltop suggesting an ancient settlement ranging in age from CE 700 to 1700 (Denbow *et al.* 2008). The local people believed their ancestors had settled the hills. When they prayed on the hills they called and recited upon these same

ancestors. The material culture on the hills was protected by the belief in the sacredness of the site. The locals did not normally go up the hill but did so when they had to pray, give offering and sacrifices.

In their attempt to benefit from the research work carried out within the settlement area, local people were intensively engaged as assistants and hosts to the archaeological research team, earning income in the process. The young adults and male participants sieved through the trench soils looking for archaeological finds: beads, ornaments, iron slag, potsherds, bones and stone tools while the elderly women washed and cleaned finds for easy recording, documentation and analysis.

The work was uncomplicated. The locals had been engaged in the project since 2002. They could earn income and be engaged in the (re)search of their own histories. On the other hand, one cannot emphasize enough the impact of received wisdom from the scientific knowledge acquired through the research on their traditional/spiritual landscapes had on their beliefs, mine as well, because this was my very first ever intensive archaeological excavation experience. From the hill that was rarely and only climbed for contact with the supernatural to a hill climbed with trowels and tapes to the dig of an archaeological enquiry.

Initially, the interaction between the research team and the local people was limited to the hilltop. A few days into the excavation work and interacting with the locals, they commenced gifting the research team with milk, meat and occasionally beer for the men. At this point, they were slowly breaking the barrier of the personal space and insider-outsider binary. On our day off, we visited their homes. Some visited the research team's campsite. At the end of the research in Bosutswe, we proceeded to the next site with some of the young adults to Kaitshaa as part of the research team.

During the course of the excavation period in the Bosutswe hills, Mpho discovered some human remains. This was my first experience of the excavation of human remains. My emotions were conflicted and torn between excitement and fear. I thought to myself, 'Now I have graduated, I can call myself an archaeologist.' This was the scientist in me talking. The part of me that had learnt so much from my deceased grandfather was not at ease, it was terrified, thinking of the wrath of the ancestors. 'Let the dead rest in peace,' I thought to myself in my grandfather's voice. I thought of how my grandfather would react to this experience and the local people in Bosutswe seemed as conflicted as I was. While cleaning the finds the women jokingly suggested that they needed to perform a cleansing ritual after this experience. My grandmother suggested the same ritual was necessary for me too when I excitedly told her about this experience, not realizing that she could not easily understand the research process. She could not understand how I could be excited, suggesting that the ancestors could not possibly be happy about such an intrusive kind of research process.

Later on, in the evening of the day of our major research find (human remains), I had conversations with Mpho who was also raised within the Tswapong context. He said he felt conflicted as well. He was excited to be the discoverer of what seemed at that point of the research process to be an important find that would shed light on the crucial objectives of the research project. At night, there was a swift wind which led to some shrubs brushing against our tents. At first, we thought the Spirit of the hills had come in the form of a swift wind. We were confronted by fear but then started making jokes and laughing the fear away. The following days, it was work, as usual; no fear just the exciting revelations of archaeological discoveries. After the research in Bosutswe, we proceed to start research in the Khubu la Dintsa and Kaitshaa hills. Both hills are as revered as the Tswapong, Bosutswe and Tsodilo hills; but also make great researchers out of us and the locals. Mpho is currently an archaeological consultant.

It is through this experience that the objective of this research work is tailored, focusing on the local perspectives and unintended changes in heritage sites. The study considers the local perception and depicts a very differentiated and at the same time clear political recommendation, conveying the unintended consequences of the World Heritage program, heritage resource management and development of tourism among the host and local community in the Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site.

The current study is concerned with the localised perception of heritage from the point of view of local communities settled within and near World Heritage Sites. The research adds to the existing empirical studies exploring heritage phenomena in Africa. The need for this research is essential to give voice to local rural communities in respect to the heritage discussion particularly because the state of Botswana has been opening local spaces for tourism and diversification of the state economy.

1.1.1 Main Objective

The general objective of this study is to explore the epistemological crisis and transformations that 'heritage' and 'culture' concepts construct while affecting the environment of the inhabitants in and around heritage sites and the general forms of giving meaning to rural and remote heritage spaces. This paper further explores the co-existence of the global, trans-local and local patterns and concepts tangible in one specific location of heritage management. Specifically, the study attempts to answer the question: What are the experiences and responses of the host communities in inhabited heritage sites and what are the local interpretations of heritage?

1.2 Structure of Study and Chapter Outline

This book is based on the data collected during a period of 7 months in the Tsodilo World Heritage Cultural site. It is designed to highlight the voices of participants (host Tsodilo community and the

neighbouring localities surrounding the heritage site and Cultural landscape) with the aim of exploring, in detail, their perceptions, views and experiences within the study context of a World Heritage Site and the heritage phenomena. This is reflected in the methodological approach that speaks to the reflection of local perceptions and the overall presentation of the study including the sequence of chapters that is structured following the research procedures and emergent data to highlight the trajectories and experiences of local and host communities in inhabited Archaeological heritage sites. The study begins with an introduction in chapters 1 and 2 which contextualize and elaborate on the concept of living with heritage as expressed in this research, the problem statement (UNESCO's World Heritage Program, which identifies local sites of global cultural significance, impacts on people's everyday lives who live with that heritage, how does the people in these sites experience and response to the global influences of local culture) and the Grounded theory methodological approach leading to the empirical results.

Chapter 1 starts out with a reflection on the impact of the scientific objectification of culture as heritage as a process of coerced social, cultural and economic transformation that communities 'living with heritage' (as the title says) cannot easily control. It focuses on the problematic concept of 'heritage' 'cultural heritage' and 'community' in heritage studies and discusses diverse approaches to conceptualizing heritage for the purpose of this research. Chapter 2 focuses specifically on the methodological approach employed in the study which match chapter 1 needs as it lays forward tools used to conceptualise the local perceptions of the World heritage. It provides detailed information on relevant methodological concerns relating to the inter disciplinary study drawing from Archaeology, heritage and Cultural studies leading to an result-oriented, and at the same time ethically reflective, approach to research. This includes a discussion of the choice of research methodology – grounded theory – the features of this methodology, and the implications of this choice for the overall research, including the structure of the study. It also explains the process of data collection and analysis and discusses a number of additional methodological issues.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 present the research findings of the current study, documenting a moment in a process where world cultural heritage attributions and local people's perceptions about their environment, as being newly labelled 'cultural heritage', encounter one another in conflicting ways. Chapter 3 provides a detailed review of the empirical data exploring perceptions of the term heritage, community and cultural diversity. Then I discuss the relationship between the local people and heritage as an object of development and as a phenomenon through the concept of 'relevance'. It highlights recent changes in perceptions of the heritage resources with a focus on the contribution of heritage context and status plus the establishment of the relevance of the community. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the trajectories that alter the local perceptions and result in cultural transformation, revealing important existing knowledge and stakeholders.

Chapter 4 focuses on the level of intercultural contact taking place amongst local people and the visitors, specifically through a discussion of the concepts of 'values'. The chapter focuses on the context-based valorisation of heritage. Firstly, the chapter discusses value categories in Tsodilo as a heritage site of universal value, secondly, as a home of the Hambukushu and Ju/hoansi and, thirdly, as a sacred spiritual site.

In Chapter 5, I look at the intercultural acquaintance and experiences between the hosts and the visitors and identify a complex set of factors which, from the perspective of the participants, collectively influence the likelihood of interaction with visitors identified as culturally different (in the case of European visitors) or culturally comparable (in the case of African, national and San visitors).

In Chapters 6, I discuss the research findings from an abstract perspective and reflect on the overall research project. Furthermore, the chapter identifies and engages in-depth with existing theoretical

concepts which relate to the current research findings. The chapter further reviews the study, evaluates the research findings, and discusses the contribution this study can make to today's scientific knowledge, identifies areas for further study, and draws some final conclusions and recommendations.

1.3 Contextualisation

Culture and heritage are concepts that have become very common and popular. They are used by people and scholars to describe and recognize the legacy of the past generations, how it is valorised and utilized in the present for the benefit of the present and future generations. In fact, the use of the phrase 'cultural heritage' and the endeavour by the UNESCO to declare World Heritage Sites in different parts of the world has confused many as they look for differences and similarities between tradition, culture and heritage. Some scholars of heritage and cultural studies define these terms either as different concepts, connected concepts or contradicting concepts. The context of archaeology, contemporary communities, local cultures and heritage resource management show a variety of definitions and descriptions relating people and material culture or people and places.

1.3.1 Heritage

Heritage is a heterogeneous term with a broad range of meanings in circulation within the contemporary global society and expresses a large degree of ambiguity (Harrison 2013). There are diverse approaches and definitions of heritage.

The Convention For The Safeguarding Of Intangible Heritage (2003) address the temporal factor of the value of material while bringing together the protection of both tangible and intangible heritage through an umbrella term: Cultural Resources (CR), defined in the convention as material (tangible) and non-material (intangible) remains of societies' past activities on the environment, which comprise archaeological remains, monuments and sites, cultural landscapes superimposed on the natural environment, local indigenous knowledge systems, folk-life and folklore, and traditional practices and rituals attached to the biophysical environment. Skeates (2000: 9–10) elaborates on the idea of heritage as a process of heritage as a phenomena, in which cultural resources are transformed to cultural heritage when the material culture of past societies is re-evaluated and re-used in the present by current societies. Therefore, cultural heritage resources (CHR) are cultural resources that are constantly appropriated, re-constructed and re-used by living communities to suit present needs, e.g. used for tourism, national identity, ritual, traditional practices. Hence, the field of cultural heritage resource management is responsible for conservation and management of cultural heritage resources.

According to the UNESCO 2008 info kit, heritage is referred to as our legacy from the past, what we live with today and what we will pass on to future generations. This definition seems to view the past as a fixed entity (tangible). Its preservation excludes the sustainability of the intangible aspect of tangible heritage, which is a changing and evolving aspect of the heritage process. Heritage is then approached as an object not only belonging to local or national communities but to the rest of humanity. The custodians are extended to global players and shareholders whose objective is to preserve and conserve the resources for future generation. This means resources need to be stabilized and not modified nor disturbed, that would otherwise injure the 'authenticity' of heritage (Jokilehto 2006; Harrison 2013; Wang 1999).

Other scholars refer to heritage as 'presently made attitudes and relationships that people have with places, objects and practices which connect the present with the past. Heritage has geographical and chronological variations' (Harrison 2013:16), its interpretation and the attachment to it differ across the globe. Harrison (2013) discusses heritage as an on-going localized process of changing ideologies

and perceptions differing from the host and local. His definition recognizes change in heritage as a process of transformation. This perception opposes the idea that heritage is a stagnant commodity incapable of change.

Harrison (2013) proposes two sets of heritage: the official and unofficial. He further describes official heritage as a set of professional practices that are authorized by the state and motivated by some forms of legislation or written character. This infers the part of the heritage that is reserved for conservation for its authentic, historic, scientific and social recreational value. This kind of heritage is set to communicate and relate with the large diverse community at international, national, regional and local levels.

He defines unofficial heritage as a broad range of practices that are represented using the language of heritage, but which are not recognized by official forms of legislation. These have meaning to individuals and local groups. Their value is in the association with social practices, beliefs and perceptions that exist around the resource. Kept in this cognitive manner the heritage retains great importance and value to the community. Its preservation is guaranteed for an extended period in the minds of the people and in its physical form.

Brett (1996) defines heritage as part of a process of self-definition through historicised self-perception and carries with it the signs of contention even when those signs have been hidden, ignored or noticed. He further denotes that heritage can be treated as popular history, the story we are constantly telling ourselves to explain to ourselves just how we come to be where we think we are, including the selection and hierarchy of material (1996:11). Furthermore, he asserts that the knowledge of this material is not fixed but actively evolving. The more we engage in the research of these places and this material, the more we construct a truer historical knowledge. Additionally, Smith's (2006) deconstruction and approach of heritage as a cultural process infuses this research. This is because, throughout time, we have obtained and categorized knowledge about environments, objects and places, selectively choosing and placing value on them. The vast majority of this knowledge was passed verbally from generation to generation through songs, practices, rituals, etc. The entirety of this knowledge can't be grasped as it keeps evolving, accumulating, changing and transforming. Individuals and groups in traditional cultural contexts know a great deal about the environment, as they live and experience it every day, sharing and passing on this knowledge. The information obtained over generations is subject to cognitive interpretation and filtration in the mind of the interpreter. Therefore, the way a culture views things is an integral part of any information system and must be taken into consideration in any analysis (Sutton and Anderson 2010: 102).

The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), contributes to a change in heritage paradigms, which turn out to be centred on a broad, more flexible and socially active concept of heritage, ensuring the acknowledgement of the intangible aspect of heritage. The Convention has contributed to focusing the process of heritage in a particular way, compelling us to recognize cultural heritage as the result of a process that ensures the social valorisation of a collective's cultural diversity within the territory. This can be accomplished through the collective's participation and attain the objective of the long-lasting safeguarding of heritage in the context of local development (Sancho Querol 2011b). Through this convention, we see a process of attributing valued roles to the previously otherwise devalued persons and groups, valorising and recognizing the roles they already had, or crafting new valued roles for them. In this way, there is a great potential to facilitate the valuing of such a group of people or community and, as a result, to ensure a sustained degree of heritage management longevity. However, this process requires not only for the community to be culturally valued but also well-researched and well-validated as an integral part of heritage management.

1.3.2 Intangible Cultural Heritage

Intangible cultural heritage has also become a social phenomenon whose core lies in the participation of the previously devalued people and the cultural roles among communities in and around heritage sites. These communities had already encountered the increased risk of deterioration in the intangible cultural heritage they possess. This phase of devaluing communities also produced shifts of interest among the local groups due to the type of conservation that took place and the tangible heritage uses, creating alienation between local people and the heritage sites (Peacock-Rizzo 2008).

Through the World Heritage enlisting process communities in and around the heritage sites went through encounters of role-degrading behaviour and alienation that became injurious to their cultural being, interactions with the sites as well as relations with the heritage sites. Ndoro's research on *your monuments our shrines* (2001) explores traditional heritage management, which has given a fundamental contribution to the technical preservation of archaeological heritage in Southern Africa, and the failure to fully conceptualize the significance of local communities. The influence of the international operational guidelines for the preservation of natural and cultural heritage has developed, however, on-ground implementation and adaptations of the progressive framework are rather slow due to institutions that take too long to change. Ndoro (2001) emphasizes that, despite the attainment of independence, heritage management in Southern Africa assumes that local communities are irrelevant to a 'scientific' approach to managing their own heritage. Giraud's (2011) investigation of the relationship between heritage conservation and tourism development in the Tsodilo hills supports this statement.

1.3.3 Culture

UNESCO's definition of culture adopted by national policymakers across the world is quite exhaustive of what the term means. It refers to culture as a 'set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of a society or a social group that includes art, literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs (Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003). For the purpose of this study, local culture is a preferred term that has an emphasis on the rich context brought to life by an association of community and the living culture. The local is used to refer not only to territoriality but also as a social qualification term rooted in the values, customs and practices of identifiable localized people. It is a term that links individuals together through symbolic expressions and representations while acknowledging the diversity of roles, interests and constructed identities. Local culture is a concept that embodies a range of uses. It can be a collection of expressions or ideas considered worth transmitting to the future through the interests of people who set priorities in a specified location. It is part of a group's symbolic expressions influenced by values, norms, beliefs, knowledge, experience and practices that the group holds (Shuma 1993). The sustainable management of cultural heritage in southern Africa has therefore been less effective as this aspect (local culture) of a community is often disregarded, given very little attention or viewed as a challenge in the conservation of heritage sites (Ndlovu 2011; Chirikure 2010). Local culture is essential as it embodies the potential of the local people's commitment and dedication to maintain cultural pride through practice, it favours conservation of sites if made culturally relevant.

1.3.4 Community

Across the world, the successful implementation of national heritage management policies and guidelines deriving from the UNESCO's heritage conventions is hampered by a misguided understanding of the term 'community' used in the documents. The term is generally understood to mean a group of people who have shared histories, shared experiences, shared practices, shared knowledge, shared values and shared aesthetics (Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

2003). This definition implies that communities in and around heritage sites are homogeneous groups of people bound by common interests and geography. The problem is that in the context of managing cultural heritage such a definition of community obscures the differences within the group(s). Thus, the heterogeneity of local communities and diverse cultural values are occasionally not appreciated. This definition poses a challenge for heritage managers as individuals and cultural groups which strive to maintain the heterogeneity of the group, sustaining diversity in symbolic expressive cultural elements that embody diverse identities, values, practices, skills and competencies.

The term community in these management documents is suggestive of a supportive and harmonious group. Viewed in this manner, the term community, firstly, becomes undemocratic and oppressive as it leads to failure to recognize cultural diversity. The term defines who belongs and who does not, who is entitled and who is not. It ignores the dynamics of the group which changes with the in and out movements of people in a location. Secondly, it disregards change and variety of interests in multi-cultural and multi-ethnic groups living in a common geographic area. With a focus on the interface of heritage and community, this research adds to the pool of scholarly writing that seeks to explore and redefine conceptualisation of grouping and community meanings in diverse contexts (Smith and Waterton 2009; Watson and Waterton 2011; Anderson 2006; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). These scholars have attempted to define community, but the flexibility associated with its form often gives rise to difficulties for the resource managers and the heritage managers. According to Harrison *et al.* (2008:180) 'community' is never simply the recognition of cultural similarity or social contiguity but a categorical identity that is premised on various forms of exclusion and construction of others. This term illustrates the notion of insiders and outsiders in which local people are the insiders and everyone else is an outsider.

Within a community, elements of culture are initially established and kept within one group and can be passed on to others upon contact. This is a context that provides a sense of togetherness among members through a common understanding of the meanings of places and objects (Brennan *et al.* 2008). Therefore, cultures and communities are not fixed and static, they transform as the group responds to new conditions and challenges. However, often in heritage sites there are attempts for communities to fix and maintain cultural identities and resist change by holding on to traditions appropriated and fixated to the idea of the site narrative. This consideration is derived from the local understanding of heritage and the value that the community associates it with. This is what bears the seed of conservation for values of material but also the lifestyle that a certain culture maintains.

In 2002 the UNESCO Budapest Declaration invited state support of the World Heritage conservation through the 4Cs: conservation, capacity building, communication and credibility, as keys to sustainable management of heritage. It was until 2007 that UNESCO added 'community' as the fifth C recognizing communities as the integral part of the heritage sites before that heritage sites were inscribed, based only on the value of the material heritage resources. Recognizing host communities and the great role of local people in achieving the heritage management objectives is essential for the safeguarding of intangible heritage. In the past, the local communities were not included in the management plan for heritage sites (1994 and 2006 Tsodilo management plan). This has changed with the revision of the management plans and heritage management policies (Tsodilo management plan 2010-2015). The concerning question remains on the implementations and pragmatics of these developments.

1.3.5 The Role of Local and Host Community and Knowledge in the Research

In Woto's (1999) report on indigenous knowledge systems, he defines indigenous knowledge as familiarity, understanding and awareness of information acquired through experience, study or observation which originates in a particular place. Further elaborating that time and spaces are the guiding variables in

the value of local knowledge. One mechanism of this is that they observe and associate items and derive meaning from the relationship. Thus, in this study, long-term relationships between local people, the environment and the heritage site place value on the interpretation of the site value and valorisation of cultural resources.

1.3.6 History of heritage studies

As Aroaz (2011) rightfully states, during the 19th and most of the 20th century, the heritage conservation community developed under the assumption that all values attributed to places rested on the material evidence of the place. Even though significance was universally assumed to reside in the material form, the variation of values attributed to the materials in a given place was always a divisive issue. The government in Botswana for instance does not actively support multiculturalism amongst the multiple ethnic groups in its territory (Giraud 2016) while ratifying UN declarations, such as the World Heritage Convention (1998) and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), and the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage in early 2010.

Harrison (2013: 95) remarks on the development of critical heritage studies from the 1960s particularly, after the 1972 World Heritage Convention when the UNESCO facilitated the promotion of a new philosophy amongst its member states, many of whom had a different relationship with traditions and the past. This philosophy meant some cultural and natural places had a universal value, the protection of which was of international interest. He further adds that at this period, countries and communities with continuous grassroots-based traditions felt alienated by this set of cultural values around heritage which emphasized the material, the monuments and the ancient.

There has been fundamental crisis for heritage which continues to have significant impact on the way in which heritage is defined, perceived and managed in the contemporary global community. The birth of which has to do with early perception and notions that has do with the 1970 World heritage committee, 1972 WHC and the shift to economic focus through tourism (Harrison 2013). The 1970 WHC suggest that heritage is primarily not about the past but relationship the present has with the future and a focus on the Tangible heritage.

In the 1972 World Heritage (WH) convention, (Tangible) buildings with architectural merits and age value gain privilege of the Universal value. In this view, heritage is official and authorised by legislation and technical standards for conservation and protection of heritage.

Laurajane Smith argues that this conventional notion of heritage is the result of, what she calls, the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD). The AHD appears as a lens to 'view' heritage. In her notion of Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), she argues that AHD naturalizes the heritage practice of selecting what ought to be preserved and promotes a certain sets of Eurocentric 'western elite cultural values as being universally applicable'; at the same time, it undermines alternative and subaltern ideas about heritage'. She argues that AHD approach of the 'Universal value' and heritage for 'all humanity' relies heavily on the expert knowledge, expertise, aesthetic judgement of heritage and Archaeological value. Therefore the archaeology, architect and history experts become legitimated as spokespersons for the past and of heritage overriding the layman and local communities.

As AHD naturalizes the heritage practice of selecting what ought to be preserved, it consequently naturalises the practices of selecting places, monuments, artefact to be passed on to the future generation in so doing promotes certain set of western elite cultural values as being of universal value. As a result, validate a set of practices, performances and values which recognises popular and expert constructions of heritage and undermine local perspectives and subaltern ideas about heritage (Smith 2006 :11)

AHD according to Smith (2006), can be characterised as a hegemonic Discourse that relies heavily on the power and knowledge of technical and aesthetic experts and institutionalised in state cultural agencies, department and societies. It privileges monumentality, architecture, age, scientific, aesthetic expert judgement and nation building. In addition to this account, from the 1970s onwards heritage studies were dominated by Western experts in archaeology, history, architecture and art history. These contributed to the sustained idea of what heritage is understood to be, guided by the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD). The AHD developed as a response to three main events:

- a) Increasing public, national and international policy interests in the post-war era by saving what was increasingly perceived as the fragile, finite resources of human creation.
- b) Increased development of what was seen as an uncontrolled economic exportation of heritage with increased interest in the tourism sector.
- c) The shift to the political right occurring at both political and social levels in many Western countries and the increasing use of ideas of heritage and patrimony in underpinning conservative social and cultural policies (Smith 2012: 536).

Smith emphasizes that the AHD is a set of self-referential narrative with a particular set of consequence. Through her research, she demonstrates the inability of the general public to recount their heritage experience outside the AHD discourse as a result of the AHD approach to heritage management.

1.3.7 Critical Heritage Approach (CHA)

The AHD evoked dissatisfaction in the way heritage is understood in a non-European context where heritage is more than just tangible material culture. Its value is also drawn from intangible heritage and local views. From this context, AHD was accused of being a Eurocentric discourse which led to the establishment and growth of the CHA. Smith (2012: 536) considers the CHA as a movement against the AHD, which is in stark contrast to international characters, conventions, and treaties that tend to transmit and reinforce the Eurocentric understanding, uses and ideas of heritage. Its potent position is that heritage should be examined as a cultural and social phenomenon, calling for an engagement with heritage that extends beyond the technical approach and requires critical commitment to the concept of heritage. CHA-based studies require, among other things, a bottom-up approach with the incorporation of the non-expert knowledge into the development of academic and policy understanding of heritage, its values and uses. CHA is characterized by:

‘The integration of heritage and museum studies with studies of memory, public history, community, tourism, planning and development, democratizing heritage by consciously rejecting elite cultural narratives and embracing the heritage insights of the people, community and cultures that have traditionally been marginalized in formulating heritage policy’ (Harrison 2013:110).

Critical Heritage Approach (CHA) is a provocative approach seeking to question the received knowledge of what heritage is and advance heritage studies by drawing on wider intellectual sources. It strongly questions the conservative cultural and economic power relation that outdated understandings of heritage support and invites the active participation of the people and community who, to date; have been marginalized in the creation and management of heritage (Smith 2012: 534).

While much has been discussed and written about heritage from disciplines of archaeology museum studies, architecture and history, heritage discourse with an interdisciplinary approach took a critical turn around the 1990 in relation to the globalisation and universality of heritage values. During this period, writing about heritage became inspired and dominated by the writing of Wright’s *On Living in*

an Old Country (1985); Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985); Hewison's *The Heritage Industry* (1987). These writings neither focused on the officially recognised heritage nor authorised by legislation. It operationalized Non-Western notion of heritage based on the living cultural tradition, practices and intangible attachment between people and things. These writing informed what Harrison (2013) terms 'Critical heritage Approach'. It questions 'who owns the past' and the right to control its representation, engages in the question of expert knowledge power over local sources and critics the idea of 'Universal' values. The Critical heritage approach privileges the heritage of the minority over heritage of the elites.

Through the discussion of the heritage of the minority and the living cultures UNESCO adopted the 2003 convention for the safeguarding of intangible heritage and later in 2007 adopted the community as the 5th pillar guiding the management of WH sites.

1.3.8 Heritage Management in Southern Africa

Cultural Heritage Management in most parts of Africa has been concerned and focused on conservation and preservation of cultural and natural heritage and the development of sites for tourism and economic boost of states income. In this venture, the tangible heritage such as monuments and landscapes become the focus and of primary significance. Therefore, efforts of heritage management fail to grasp the significance and relevance of cultural heritage to the local communities and the existing traditional and cultural attachment to heritage sites (Jopela 2010) beyond the economic gain. Of late, operational guidelines of the WH Conventions and the heritage discourse have targeted the engagement of communities in the management of their local heritage and shaping visitor experiences. The major challenge is the implementation of these developments and restoration of cultural pride in local communities. The communities' interest in heritage areas has been overshadowed by the perceived idea of economic gain and the global agenda for preservation of monuments for future generation driven by archaeologists as the foremost important benefit in heritage over cultural rights and entitlement to heritage sites and traditional use.

In 2008 several heritage sites in Botswana were opened for tourism in addition to the Tsodilo World Heritage Site. Furthermore, on June 2014 the Okavango Delta covering a vast range of land occupied by cultural communities was also inscribed on the World Heritage List, becoming the second World Heritage Site in Botswana. However, insufficient research and analysis has been undertaken to understand how local communities and local cultures respond to these ventures.

In Africa, nomadic and complex views of the concept of heritage and its meanings have been the centre of attention for the last two decades. Since the Tsodilo hills were inscribed in the World Heritage List in 2001, there have been commendable developments and grounded challenges in the implementation of international legislation, guidelines and policies for managing, preserving and conserving heritage on site. The Tsodilo hills were enlisted in the World Heritage List because of its unique religious and spiritual significance to local peoples, the concentration of rock art and unique record of human settlement over many millennia. The enlisting was based on the first management plan drawn up in 1994 which has been critiqued as limited in community engagement and duly revised. In 2003, the UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage convention was adopted. However, Botswana only ratified the convention in 2008. This delay affected the country's appreciation of the value of the intangible heritage of the site and community engagement in Archaeological Heritage Management (AHM).

1.3.9 Research Justification

This study attempts to demonstrate a superimposition of cultural perceptions of local communities catalysed by the globalisation of the term 'heritage' and the growing tourism industry. The research

area used to be hardly accessible in the remote area. Currently, it is gaining recognition and drawing interest from people all over the world. To formulate a substantial study in Archaeological Heritage studies, placing meaning and value to archaeological sites in my view requires a moment to reflect on what has already been done in the disciplines. Archaeology and heritage studies respectively have made impressive methodological developments in the understanding the value of cultural objects. However, they have also had an impact on the relationship between local communities and cultural resources.

The state of affairs in the African context in regard to archaeological and heritage sites has prompted this view. The local community becomes distanced or distance themselves from the Archaeological Heritage (AH) sites. The individuals on a given heritage site form part of the character of the site and this should not be taken lightly, otherwise the site is vulnerable to plainness. Fundamental for the success of this study is an interdisciplinary, flexible and reflexive critical approach to examine the perception of heritage of the host community and community involvement.